

Message Text

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PAGE 01 ROME 06854 140950Z

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

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S E C R E T ROME 6854

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, VT, GE, PL

SUBJECT: VATICAN AT HELSINKI TALKS

1. SUMMARY. CASAROLI CONSIDERS UNFOLDING OF CSCE SO FAR GENERALLY SUCCESSFUL AND A SIGNIFICANT STEP TOWARD CREATING EUROPEAN MORAL AND LEGAL SYSTEM WHICH ALTHOUGH IT MAY NOT GUARANTEE END TO SOVIET AGGRESSION, NONTHELESS, HELPS CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH SOVIETS FEEL MORE CONSTRAINED TO CONFORM TO STANDARD NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOR. AT PRESENT STATE IN HISTORY, CASAROLI BELIEVES SAD REALITY IS THAT EUROPEAN SECURITY MUST BE BASED ON BALANCED MILITARY STRENGTH. UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT AT PRESENT WOULD, IN HIS VIEW, PROBABLY BE HIGHLY UNWISE. END SUMMARY.

2. ARCHBISHOP CASAROLI, VATICAN "FORMIN", TOLD US JULY 12 THAT

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SECRET

PAGE 02 ROME 06854 140950Z

HE VIEWED RESULTS OF LAST WEEK'S HELSINKI GATHERING IN POSITIVE LIGHT. MOST SERIOUS PART OF CSCE COMES NEXT, HE NOTED, AND IT IS

IMPERATIVE FOR WEST TO SEE THAT STRONG, UNAMBIGUOUS LANGUAGE IS WRITTEN INTO FINAL DECLARATION, ESPECIALLY RE HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREER MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE. ON WHOLE CASAROLI BELIVES CSCE WILL MAKE POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TOWARD ESTABLISHING A EUROPEAN MORAL AND LEGAL ORDER WITHIN WHICH SOVIETS WILL FEEL MORE COERCED THAN AT PRESENT TO ESCHEW AGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR. CASARILI EXPLAINED THAT HE HAS NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT CHARACTER AND GOALS OF SOVIET LEADERSHIP, BUT NONTHELESS FEELS THAT IN LONG HAUL -- PERHAPS SEVERAL GENERATIONS -- THEY WILL FEEL INCREASINGLY PRESSURED TO RESPOND TO THEIR PEOPLES DESIRES FOR MORE FREEDOM AND LIBERALIZED CONTACTS WITH OUTSIDE WORLD. CASAROLI SEES RENEWED TIGHTENING OF CONTROLS ON INTELLECTUALS AND DISSIDENTS WITHIN BLOC AS AN INDICATION OF LEADERSHIP'S GROWING CONCERN AND PERPLEXITY OVER HOW TO CONFRONT THESE RISING DEMANDS. CASAROLI'S BASIC PHILOSOPHY IS THAT ALL CONTACTS BETWEEN COMMUNIST AND DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES ARE USEFUL FOR SLOWLY ERODING DICTATORSHIP. IN HIS EYES FREE WORLD HAS LITTLE TO FEAR FROM CONTACT WITH COMMUNISM BECAUSE IF DEMOCRACY STANDS ON A FIRM BASE IT IS NOT EASILY SHAKEN WHILE DICTATORSHIPS ARE ALWAYS VULNERABLE TO LIBERALIZING FORCE FROM ABROAD. WHEN WE OBSERVED THAT PRESSURE FOR LIBERALIZATION WITHIN BLOC WAS DEFINITELY GROWING BUT THAT THERE SEEMED LITTLE REASON TO CONCLUDE THAT IT WOULD BE TRANSLATED INTO IRRESISTABLE POPULAR DEMANDS FOR CONCRETE IMPROVEMENTS, ESPECIALLY AFTER EXAMPLES OF POLAND, HUNGARY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA, CASAROLI RETURNED TO HIS THESIS THAT THIS WAS A TREND THAT COULD TAKE SEVERAL GENERATIONS TO MANIFEST ITSELF FULLY.

3. CASAROLI CITED SECRETARY ROGER'S VISIT TO PRAGUE THIS WEEK AS AN EXCELLENT EXAMPLE OF THE TYPE OF BRIDGEBUILDING, WHICH AIDED LEADERS OF SATELLITE COUNTRIES IN ACHIEVING SOME MEASURE OF INDEPENDENCE FROM SOVIETS.

4. CASAROLI SAID THAT ALTHOUGH HE COULD NOT SAY SO PUBLICLY, HE FIRMLY BELIEVES THAT AT PRESENT IT IS POSSIBLE TO MAINTAIN WORLD SECURITY ONLY THROUGH MAINTENANCE OF BALANCED MILITARY STRENGTH. THIS IS, OF COURSE, A SADLY NEGATIVE FORM OF PEACE KEEPING, AS HE STATED IN HIS HELSINKI SPEECH, BUT HOPEFULLY PAUSE IN HOSTILITIES WHICH THIS PEACE PROVIDES WILL PERMIT MANKIND GRADUALLY TO BUILD A TRUE AND LASTING PEACE, ONETHAT PROVIDES FOR A FREER EXCHANGE OF
SECRET
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PAGE 03 ROME 06854 140950Z

IDEAS AND PERSONS.

5. CASAROLI PRAISED SECRETARY ROGER'S SPEECH AT HELSINKI, LABELING IT THE BEST AND CLEAREST EXPOSITION OF FREE WORLD'S GOALS AND VIEWPOINT MADE AT HELSINKI. HE CHARACTERIZED GROMYKO'S SPEECH AS A PIECE OF THINLY VEILED PROPAGANDA THAT MADE A NEGATIVE IMPRESSION ON AUDIENCE.

6. DURING CONFERENCE CASAROLI SAID HE HAD THREE INFORMAL CHATS WITH GROMYKO, NONE OF WHICH WAS SIGNIFICANT. HOWEVER, CASAROLI

ALSO SAW FOLLOWING FOREIGN MINISTERS PRIVATELY AT THEIR REQUESTS: WINZER OF GDR, OLSZOWSKI OF POLAND, LOPEZ RIDO OF SPAIN AND PATRICIO OF PORTUGAL. WINZER MAINLY EXPRESSED HIS DESIRE THAT HOLY SEE BEGIN TO TREAT EAST GERMANY AND CHURCH IN GDR AS TOTALLY SEPARATE FROM FRG, BUT HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD HOLY SEE'S DESIRE "TO MOVE SLOWLY" AS EXPRESSED BY CASAROLI.

7. CASAROLI DID NOT HAVE TIME TO ELABORATE ON HIS TALKS WITH ABOVE FOREIGN MINISTERS, BUT HE DID SAY HE SPENT TWO HOURS WITH OLSZOWSKI. ALTHOUGH RELUCTANT TO GIVE DETAILS CASAROLI SAID HE SENSED THROUGHOUT OLSZOWSKI'S PRESENTATION AN UNEXPRESSED BUT DEEP SEATED SENSITIVITY ABOUT ANTAGONIZING SOVIETS. THIS SENSITIVITY IS A LEITMOTIV IN ALL THE VATICAN'S CONTACTS WITH POLISH OFFICIALS, CASAROLI OBSERVED, PARTICULARLY CONCERNING POLISH CHURCH WHICH SEEMS PRONE TO MAKE STATEMENTS OR BECOME INVOLVED IN ACTIVITIES HAVING DEFINITE ANTI-RUSSIAN OVERTONES. AS EXAMPLES, CASAROLI MENTIONED CHURCH'S PROCLIVITY TO EMOTE OVER ANNIVERSARIES OF HISTORIC POLISH SUCCESSES AGAINST RUSSIA. SUCH ACTIONS BY CHURCH ARE VERY POPULAR WITH POLISH MASSES, WHO ALWAYS ANXIOUS TO PULL RUSSIAN BEAR'S TAIL, CASAROLI EXPLAINED, BUT PLACE THE GOP IN AN EMBARRASSING POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIETS AND DO LITTLE TO IMPROVE CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS. VOLPE

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